52
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EBHR 52

Revival and renaissance in Tibetan art: imagining Kashmir and Nepal in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries

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Abstract
Both Kashmir and Nepal have been sources of inspiration throughout the history of Tibetan art. The art of Kashmir was adopted and adapted in the Purang-Guge Kingdom (circa 950–1100 CE) and its successors, and Nepalese artists were instrumental in the creation of a considerable portion of early Tibetan art. In this article, the early adoption of art from these two regions is contrasted with specific examples from the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries that consciously link back to art forms associated with Kashmir and Nepal. Analyses of these later examples provide insights into the processes involved in reviving historic art forms, and demonstrate the increasing distance between the actual artistic production and its alleged origin(s). The processes of revival perceivable in these examples are varied, yet all of them share a conscious and selective approach and a substantial degree of re-imagination. As such, the revival of these older art forms in newer works serves as both a subject and a messenger.

Introduction

The art and craftsmanship of Kashmir and Nepal are closely linked to early Tibetan art.[2] Artists and craftsmen from these two regions are credited with producing the highest quality artworks in the wes-

1 I am deeply grateful to Brigit Kellner for her invitation to deliver a keynote at the Fourth International SEECHAC Colloquium on 'Religious Revivals and Artistic Renaissance in Central Asia and the Himalayan Region - Past and Present'. I would also like to thank the many friends and colleagues who have provided photographs over the years, without which I would not have been able to discuss in necessary detail the examples that I have chosen for this study. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers, their critical comments triggered considerable improvements to the work.

2 Here the term Tibetan art is used synonymously with art in the Tibetan cultural sphere, it thus includes the Tibetan-speaking regions of India and Nepal and excludes the Śrīnagar and Kathmandu valleys.

tern Himalayas[3] and central Tibet[4] respectively, and their creations are considered crucial sources of inspiration for Tibetan craftsmen. Consequently, west Tibetan art dating from the eleventh to the early thirteenth centuries is often considered to simply be a type of Kashmiri art, and much of the central Tibetan art of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (and regionally beyond this period) is seen as a product of Nepalese artisans living and working in Tibet.

In this article, I will first take a closer look at these early connections and contrast them with specific later examples, to explore the nature of and variations in later relationships, which serve as case studies for the intellectual processes involved. In conclusion, I will assess if in any of these cases it is possible to speak of revival - or even renaissance. In this context, I understand revival as the mere visual referencing of earlier artistic modes, while a renaissance includes a set of norms taken over with it.

The examples used in this study are based on previously published research and summarise their evidence and findings, using the most telling examples. Bringing these case studies together and focusing on their elements of revival provides a new perspective on how Tibetan art styles may have come about. Analyses of the processes of adoption and adaptation in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, a time for which we have broader circumstantial evidence, also shed light on how the original adoption of Indian stylistic modes in Tibet may have worked. This provides further evidence that the original adoption of Nepali and Kashmiri art is much more complex than commonly thought, a perspective that is incorporated in the following discussion of the original adoption of Kashmiri and Nepalese art in Tibetan areas.

Kashmir

The close relationship of the art of Kashmir to early western Himalayan art is uncontested, but the chronology and the nature of the relationship are disputed. Generally speaking, the literature presumes that Kashmi-

3 In this context 'western Himalayas' refers to the regions of Tibetan culture from Gilgit to West Tibet and excludes regions east of the watershed, such as Mustang, that are often counted among the West Tibetan regions.

4 Central Tibet refers to the central Tibetan regions Ü (*dbus*) and Tsang (*gtsang*) combined.

ri art production ceased during the eleventh century and consequently that all sophisticated art production in the western Himalayas dates to this same period. However, this is contradicted by Alchi and related monuments that, in my assessment, can safely be attributed to the late 12th and early 13th centuries.[5] Accordingly, early western Himalayan art developed from the tenth to the early thirteenth century, and Kashmir art production likely continued into the thirteenth century as well.[6]

Among early western Himalayan monuments, two may be singled out as most closely reflecting the art of Kashmir at different periods. For the early eleventh century the paintings of the northwestern *chöten* (*mchod rten*) in Tholing, which fragmentarily preserves a sculptural triad of Śākyamuni flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi in a three-family configuration (see Namgyal 2001 and Heller 2010), can be linked closely to Kashmiri sculptural production of the same period.[7] The depiction of the offering goddess Lāsyā, one of the secondary figures flanking the standing Buddha image on the main wall of the northwestern *chöten* (Figure 1), compares directly to the goddesses seen on Kashmiri bronzes, among them a well-known bronze triad of a six-armed Avalokiteśvara also flanked by goddesses (Figure 2). A dedication inscription during the reign of Queen Diḍḍā (980–1003) dates this bronze to 989 CE (Siudmak 2013: 482–85). Despite the differences in medium and size, these works are clearly related to one another. They share the following features: a straight continuation of the nose line that begins at the forehead, a set-back but clearly marked chin, a veil that covers the hair and forms to a point above it, a bodice that reveals much of the breasts and emphasises the abdomen (found only in the sculpture), and a voluptuous abdomen. These can be considered features of Kashmir art. However, we do not

5 Here I follow the reattribution of the Alchi Sumtsek to the early thirteenth century, as first proposed in Goepper (1990). Even though overwhelming evidence speaks for this dating (e.g. Goepper & Poncar 1996, Goepper 2003, Luczanits 2003a, 2006, 2007, 2011, Luczanits & Neuwirth 2010) it has continuously been contested without providing positive clues for a suggested earlier date or reacting to the supporting evidence brought forward for the later date (the latest published attempt I am aware of is Denwood 2014).

6 The arguments for this assessment have been the subject of several of my publications, the latest being Luczanits (2014a, 2014b and 2016c).

7 I am aware that the comparison of art in different materials is methodologically problematic, and accordingly am rather cautious with my conclusions based on this comparison. Further evidence is presented in Luczanits (2014b).

know if the relationship of the paintings to the art of Kashmir was of any importance to the donor.[8]

Western Himalayan art continued to develop over the next two centuries in direct exchange with Kashmir and other northwest Indian regions, producing a wide array of interrelated styles, at times differing considerably even within the same monument. For the latest phase, the strongest case for Kashmir art in the western Himalayas can be made in relation to the paintings of the Alchi group of monuments. In my estimation, the strongest argument for foreign agency in this particular case is neither appearance nor style but the fact that the group's monuments are distinctive and can be attributed to a relatively narrow geographical region and timeframe. In addition, the gradual disappearance of this style coincides with the decline of royal power and Buddhism in Kashmir from the mid-twelfth century onwards (Naudou 1980: chapter VII and Digby 2007). It is, therefore, not surprising that the style of the Alchi group of monuments found no local successor.[9]

There is also internal evidence for a Kashmir origin for the Alchi group paintings; for example, a Kashmiri valley environment is hinted at by the paintings on the *dhoti* of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in the Alchi Sumtsek. Here one sees Hindu and Buddhist monuments flourish side by side - some of them identifiable as specific places in the Kashmir Valley (Goepper 2003) - and the depicted architecture is typical of that in the valley of Śrīnagar. There is also a yet undeciphered two-line in-

8 In this connection, it is worth noting that the renovation inscription in the Tabo Main Temple (dating to c.1042) does not specify the origin of the artists responsible for the new paintings and sculptures, even though it explicitly states that they had to be gathered together first. Nevertheless, its murals are often quoted as examples of Kashmiri workmanship in the western Himalayas.
Tabo renovation inscription: rje rgyal lha btsun byang chub 'od de yis // mes kyis mdzad pa rnyings par gzigs nas ni // mkhan bzo' du ma stsogs te rgyu sbyar nas // zab pa'i bka' yis bdag cag bskos nas ni // (6) legs par byi dor byas nas bcos pa yin // after Steinkellner & Luczanits (1999: 17, editorial signs removed).
'When this sovereign, the lHa btsun Byan chub 'od, regarded the work of the ancestor as old, he gathered many masters and craftsmen, and provided the materials. When we, then, were commissioned by (his) profound order, we purified [the place] well and [the work] was done.' (Steinkellner & Luczanits 1999: 23).

9 Poor attempts to continue the painting tradition of the earlier temples are found in a number of later monuments on site, such as the Lotsawa Lhakhang and several *chöten* (Luczanits 2014a).

scription in Indic script underneath the paintings in this niche.[10]

Other peculiar features, such as the lotus represented above the head of the Alchi Sumtsek sculptures, also point towards a close connection to Kashmir art (Luczanits 2004: 248–49).

The famous Green Tārā located on the left-side wall of Avalokiteśvara's niche in the Alchi Sumtsek (Figure 3) bears stylistic features consistent with those defined above as pointing towards Kashmir: notably, the bodice is now a regular part of a goddess's attire. We may thus take the comparison of the goddess Lāsyā in Figure 1 with the Green Tārā in Figure 3 as reflecting the development of Kashmiri painting from the early eleventh to the early thirteenth century. Even if one considers the difference in size between the two representations - the Tholing goddess is roughly one-quarter the size of the goddess depicted at Alchi - the miniaturisation of detail in the Alchi paintings is striking, and it is one of their characteristic features.

These examples suffice to demonstrate that the relationship of early Western Himalayan art to Kashmir is not a linear process, but has to be evaluated in relation to specific centres at particular times and specific places, as well as across a considerable span of time that saw continuous interaction. If the Tholing *chöten* indeed reflects Kashmir art, Alchi can be seen as documenting its revival in the western Himalayas a good 150 years later. But while the art documented in Tholing found local successors, the art of Alchi remained an outlier. In this scenario, the distinct Alchi style might also indicate that direct artistic exchange between Kashmir and western Tibet had diminished considerably by the late eleventh century.

Nepal

The interrelationship between the art of the Newars in the Kathmandu Valley and areas of central Tibet (in particular the Tsang region) is continuous throughout the early history of Tibetan art. So much so that much of central Tibetan art from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century is considered to have been produced by Newar artists, or is at least the legacy of Newar art production in Tibet.[11]

10 I have provided detailed black-and-white images of this fragmentary inscription to both Oscar von Hinüber and Lokesh Chandra, neither of who could make much sense of it. I am grateful for their attempts.

11 On the impact of Newar artists on Tibetan art, see in particular: Lo Bue (1985a, 985b,

Despite this close relationship there is hardly a period in which works made for Tibetan patrons can be confused with works produced for the Kathmandu Valley. This is not only true for the different religious concepts expressed in the works of these two regions - for example, Kathmandu Valley paintings emphasise the ritual specialist and the donors at the bottom of a painting, while Tibetan paintings stress the derivation of the teaching through a teaching lineage at the top - but also in stylistic terms. Even the most Newari among Tibetan paintings, which share the open composition and colour scheme of their Kathmandu Valley counterparts, generally appear less free in their expression and detail. Yet, it is precisely in the details that one can directly compare relevant Tibetan paintings to those of the Kathmandu Valley. The famous Green Tārā at the Cleveland Museum of Art is debatably an exception to this rule.[12]

As an example, one may compare a *paubha* of a six-armed red form of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara from the Kathmandu Valley (Figure 4)[13] with a thangka of Buddha Amitābha from a set of five Buddhas (Figure 5),[14] although the *paubha* is considerably larger. In addition to their composition and colour scheme, these two paintings share a wide range of motifs that attribute them to the same artistic environment. Observing the details in the Amitābha painting, only the more strictly conceived

1997, 2012), Kossak (1994, 1997), Jackson (2010), as well as the many catalogues that tie these two regions together, such as Kramrisch (1960), Chow (1971), Uhlig (1976), Béguin (1987), and Pal (1991, 2001).

12 For the Cleveland Green Tārā see Kossak & Singer (1998: no. 37), Kossak (2010: fig. 68), Jackson (2010: fig. 5.13), and http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1970.156. While this excellent and interesting work is often attributed to Aniko/Anige (1245–1306), a Nepalese artist famous for his work at the Yuan Court (Jing 1994), it is still commonly termed a Tibetan painting (e.g. Weldon 2010, 'On recent attributions to Aniko'. Available on http://www.asianart.com/articles/aniko/index.html. Accessed 2 January 2015).

13 For the Kathmandu Valley *paubha* from the Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, see Uhlig (1981: no. 52) and Béguin (1990: 172–75), the latter dating the painting to ca. 1300 CE.

14 For the *thangka* of the five-Buddha set see Kossak & Singer (1998: no. 36) and Kossak (2010: figs. 63, 65). On stylistic grounds, I disregard the argument that the representation of the two lay donors on the Amoghasiddhi painting associates it with the great Sakya hierarchs, thereby dating the paintings to the third quarter of the twelfth century, as put forward in Jackson (2010: 67–71). To my mind, the stylistic association of these paintings with late-thirteenth and fourteenth-century murals across the Himalayas cannot be denied.

composition and the absence of the ritual specialist and donors at the bottom of the painting identify it as an artwork made for Tibet. In addition, the Amoghasiddhi painting from this five-Buddha set further supports this reading, as it depicts two Tibetan lay practitioners in the bottom row (Jackson 2010: figs. 4.3A and 6.3). The paintings most likely stem from the late thirteenth century, when contacts between Kathmandu Valley art and Tibet appear to have been closest, with the *paubha* a bit earlier than the thangka. Not incidentally, it was at this same time that the Nepalese craftsman Anige (1245–1306) was referred via Tibet to the Chinese court (Jing 1994).

In terms of sculpture, Newar workmanship was likely even more decisive than that evidenced in paintings, and contact with the Kathmandu Valley even closer. But here, too, sculpture produced for the Tibetan market and sculpture produced for Nepal can most commonly be differentiated.

The process apparent in the case of Nepal is an extremely close exchange between the Kathmandu Valley and areas of Tibet. It is likely that when Tibetan demand for portable artwork accelerated in the thirteenth century, Newar masters had their own workshops in Tibet with Tibetans working as apprentices; the latter, in turn, established their own workshops and may have also continued contact with their masters in the Kathmandu Valley workshops. Their Tibetan clients clearly had specific demands, both in terms of subject matter and style. For example, there is no doubt that the preferred style for a painting depicting the founder of the Taklung School, Taklung Thangpa Chenpo, is what has retrospectively been termed the East Indian Painting Style (*shar (b) ris*), regardless of who actually made the painting. Thus, in my opinion, retrospective designations such as Nepalese Style (*bal (b)ris*) or East Indian Style (*shar (b)ris*) - first used systematically in the seventeenth century in reference to early Tibetan art (Jackson 1996) - likely say less about the artists that produced these works than about the stylistically embedded associations their subject matter required, or that their clients wished to have expressed.

If we consider issues of revival we must also be mindful that the original adoption and adaptation process, which refers to Kashmir and Nepal respectively, was rather complex from the outset. In both west and central Tibet, local demands appear to have had an influence on

the appearance of the artworks. This is not only expressed in the depictions of Tibetans in these works of art and their inscriptions, but also in stylistic and iconographic choices. From my perspective, this local agency makes the resulting artwork inherently Tibetan, regardless of who actually made it.

Having examined some of the broad processual patterns recognisable in the early adoptions of Kashmir- and Nepal-derived styles in areas of Tibetan culture, we now move forward to selected later examples that may constitute cases of revival. Of interest in this regard are the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, which were both periods of innovation in Tibetan art.

Fifteenth Century

Regarding Tibetan painting, the early fifteenth century is characterised by the development and promotion of distinctive regional art styles that build on a common vocabulary. Thus, while easily recognised individually, the paintings of Gyantsé in central Tibet, Lo Manthang in Mustang, and Tholing and Tsaparang in west Tibet use similar motifs and are distinguished from earlier paintings through a richer colour palette and an emphasis on floral motifs, including fanciful scrolls, which largely replace the dividing lines used in earlier paintings (Figure 5). In other words, while still rather strictly organised, early fifteenth-century art and its successors leave an impression of greater compositional freedom. Nevertheless, these paintings are still traditionally classified as a continuation of the Nepalese legacy in Tibetan art (Jackson 2010: chapters 7-8).

In the following sections, I focus on two examples related to Kashmir and Nepal respectively: the Red Temple of Tholing and a scroll painting. The latter can be viewed as representative of the tension between conservativism and the stylistic revolution that took place during the second half of the fifteenth century, primarily through the adoption of a unified landscape background.

Red Temple

The art of the Guge Kingdom in west Tibet (ca. 1400 to 1630) is of particular interest vis-à-vis earlier western Himalayan art, which was developed

in exchange with the art of Kashmir.[15] One of the earliest examples of this new artistic style is the Assembly Hall Ornament of Jambudvīpa (*'du khang 'dzam gling rgyan*), today simply called the Red Temple (*lha khang dmar po*) of Tholing. It was built at a time when lavish royal patronage for the construction of new Buddhist monuments was resuming. Interestingly, much of this revival took place under New Kadampa (*bka' gdams gsar ma*, later *dge lugs pa*) guidance, through the activities of Chöjé Ngakwang Drakpa (*chos rje* Ngag dbang grags pa), a disciple of Jé Tsongkhapa (*rje* Tsong kha pa: 1357–1419), after the former returned from central to west Tibet during the reign of King Namgyel Dé (rNam rgyal lde, who likely lived 1372–1431, Vitali 1996: 79–82, 130–34, 471–508). The main donor depiction in the Red Temple emphasises Śākya Ö (Śākya 'od), one of the three princes who invited Ngakwang Drakpa to subdue a female demon (*'dre*). This donor is depicted as a Drigung monk, while King Namgyel Dé is in a secondary position among the flanking secular personages (Namgyal 2001: 28–29).[16]

As the murals of the monument document, art in the region once again reached exceptional standards of material quality and workmanship. Stylistically, the Assembly Hall murals clearly draw on an earlier heritage, in particular the art of the mid-eleventh century, as a comparison between the Bodhisattvas of Tholing (Figure 6) and of Tabo (Figure 7) illustrates: while clearly referencing earlier representations, the eyes now narrow even further (with the bottom line being practically straight), the mouth is even more reduced, and the chin and earlobes are emphasised. Additionally, profile depictions such as the head of the Goddess of Sound (Figure 8) show that previously identified Kashmiri elements have also merged into Guge art: there is only a slight depression at the root of the nose that interrupts the straight continuation from the forehead, and the chin is equally set back, while the veil becomes an occasional adornment and the bodice continues to be a regular part of female attire, now revealing the breasts in their entirety.

15 This theme is taken up in the exhibition catalogue Linrothe (2014), with Kerin (2014) focusing on the relevant period.

16 I owe photographs of this assembly to the late Tsering Gyalpo, who also published detailed descriptions of western Himalayan monuments, including Tholing (Gyalpo 2005: 175–88). The historical context surrounding the establishment of the Red Temple still needs to be studied in detail.

Artistically, the Tholing murals build as much on Newar heritage as the roughly contemporaneous murals of Gyantsé Monastery. In the colour palette, red tones now dominate their overall appearance and green is used more prominently as well, especially where vegetal motifs and scrolls are depicted.[17] While blue is still used for the background in the Assembly Hall it is overpowered by the general density of decoration (as well as its darkening over the ages) and only comes to the fore again in later Guge monuments, which are decorated with less sophistication in both modelling and detail.

While the regional derivation of style and iconography is overwhelmingly present in Guge-period art, closer inspection reveals the integration of motifs that originated in different regions as well as various schools of painting, likely mediated via central Tibet. Newar- derived motifs fill background surfaces with flower scrolls, lotus-blossom pillars are used to frame figures (Figure 8), and more elaborate throne constructions - that now include all six ornaments, a term referring to the animals represented above and to the sides of the throne - become standard. Chinese elements are mostly found in the representations of cloth and textile patterns, such as the fabulous bird or cloud pattern used throughout the monument. The dragon enwinding the right lotus- blossom pillar in Figure 8 also represents such a motif. While these elements are dominant in terms of workmanship, they play a minor role in the overall appearance of the paintings.

Even though Guge-period paintings were part of the regional establishment of the New Kadampa School, the main iconographic topics of the temple also refer back to the eleventh-century Purang- Guge. In the Assembly Hall of Tholing all major surfaces are dedicated to Yoga-Tantra assemblies of the same mandalas that were also popular during its earliest phase. This is clearly a reference to the teachings associated with the Great Translator, Rinchen Zangpo, even though the interpretation of the root texts on which these paintings are based differs from those in the eleventh century.

Given that the most important elements of Guge-period art are dependent on earlier local prototypes, we can consider it a true renais-

17 There is considerable variation in the colour palette of Guge-period monuments, with a tendency towards a greater variety in later Tsaparang painting (Aschoff 1987, 1989, Ba 2000, Xizang ren min chu ban she 2011).

sance of Purang-Guge art. As the paintings in the Red Temple and the composition of the Chronicle of Ngari (*Ngari Gyelrap, Mnga' ris rgyal rabs*) indicate, this renaissance was largely a concerted, top-down effort quite similar to the way organised Buddhism spread during the eleventh century (see also Kerin 2015: chapter 5). Remarkably, this renaissance was supported across ruling elites and Buddhist schools. To my knowledge, however, Kashmir - which by that time was governed by Muslim rulers - played no role in this renaissance.[18] It is, therefore, doubtful that the link of Purang-Guge art to the art of Kashmir contributed in any meaningful way to this revival. Needless to say, at the time there must indeed have been many Kashmiri works extant in west Tibet, which could have been used as models.

Hevajra Thangka[19]

When I first encountered a Tibetan scroll painting in a private collection (Figure 9) it triggered a feeling of sensation, connecting what I had seen before in unexpected ways. Against a dark blue ground, colourful figures emerge that are familiar and yet differ associatively. The central deity (Figure 10) with its retinue resonates with the paintings in the Hevajra Chapel (Kye rdor lha khang)[20] at Gongkar Chödé (Gong dkar chos sde) Monastery, possibly painted by the famous Kyentsé Chenmo and his workshop around 1470 (Figure 11).[21]

18 I am unaware of any distinct historical reference in this regard, which may well be due to the fact that Buddhism has disappeared in the meantime. Today, Ladakhi Buddhists hesitate to attribute art to Kashmir, which may well be due to the association of Kashmir with Muslim, as apparent also in the use of the same Tibetan or Ladakhi term (*kha che*) for both.

19 A more detailed discussion of this painting and its relationship to the Gongkar murals and the Mindrölling *lamdré* lineage sculptures is found in Luczanits (in press) - a study that resulted in a re-identification of several sculptures in the Mindrölling set and a reattribution of the set.

20 Also called the Chapel of the Aspiration Deities (Yi dam lha khang). The murals of Gongkar Chödé Monastery and its Hevajra Chapel are introduced in Jackson 1996: chapter 4, and now published comprehensively in Luo Wenhua / 罗文华 sKal bzang chos 'phel / 格桑曲培2016. There is also a Japanese publication on the Gongkar murals (Masaki & Tachikawa 1997) that has not, however, been accessible to me. Photographs of the Yi dam Chapel are also provided on HAR (Himalayan Art Resources), http://www. himalayanart.org [Accessed 27 December 2016], under Tibet: Gongkar Chode Monastery.

21 See, for example, the description by Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo in Akester 2016: 258.

By contrast, the lineage figures surrounding the main deity in the thangka exhibit facial features familiar from a famous set of repoussé sculptures of teachers from the Path with the Fruit (*lam 'bras*) lineage, preserved at Mindrölling (Smin grol gling) Monastery.[22] In this regard, it is sufficient to compare the respective depictions of the lay ascetic, who has two prominent teeth visible between his lips and holds a garland of prayer beads in his left hand (compare Figure 12 with Figure 13). The thangka identifies him by caption as Zhangtön Chöbar (Zhang ston chos 'bar: 1053–1135), the teacher of Sachen Künga Nyingpo (Sa chen Kun dga' snying po: 1092–1158). Close resemblances can also be noted when comparing other teacher representations.

Concluding from the lineage, the thangka painting can be dated to circa 1500, as it depicts Gongkar Dorjédenpa Künga Namgyel (Gong dkar rDo rje gdan pa Kun dga' rnam rgyal: 1432–1496), the founder of Gongkar Monastery, and his pupil Khenchen Chödrup Sengge (*mkhan chen* Chos grub seng ge), who are located in the top two corners on either side of the main deity's halo.[23] The thangka painting thus postdates the mural version.

Stylistically, the thangka can be considered archaic for the period and context, both in its use of the blue background and in its strict composition. These elements link the painting back to Newar craftsmanship and contrast it with the depiction of the same subject in Gongkar Chöde Monastery, where Hevajra is set against a continuous landscape background (Jackson 1996: pl. 10, Luo Wenhua & Gesang Qupei 2016), one of the main artistic features that Khyentsé Chenmo was famous for introducing. In this connection, however, it is important to note that the background in the Hevajra Chapel is of lesser importance than in other more narrative or historic paintings, and it is also used to a much lesser extent in the chapel's other murals. In other words, the composition of

For more or less detailed descriptions of Gongkar Monastery and its different parts, see Fermer 2009: 137–41, Henss 2014: 351–499, Jackson 2016: chapter 4, and Akester 2016: 255–60.

22 Comprehensive accounts of the Mindrölling sculptures are available in von Schroeder 2001: 972–85, fig. XV-11, and pls. 236A–241F, Lee-Kalisch 2006: 118–51, and Jackson 2016: chapter 6. This study corrects some of the identifications suggested in von Schroeder 2001 and followed by all subsequent authors consulted.

23 Captions: *|| rje tsun kun dga' rna[m] rgyal | on the left and right, *|| mkhan chen chos? grub seng ge |

the thangka is less unusual than a decontextualised comparison of the two Hevajra paintings might imply.

The Mindrölling set of sculptures is considered a product of Newar craftsmanship in Tibet, as can be deduced from *nāgarī* numerals reportedly on the repoussé bases. Research on the set in relation to the Hevajra thangka, however, allows me to conclude that the set considerably predates the time when Shalu Lotsawa Chökyong Zangpo (Zhwa lu *lo tsā ba* Chos skyong bzang po: 1441–1528) is thought to have ordered it for Drathang Monastery.[24] Instead, the sculpture set appears to be closely connected to Gongkar and date into the 1460s - the time when Kyentsé Chenmo was most active at Gongkar - as the set's last figure represents the teacher of Gongkar Dorjédenpa Künga Namgyel.[25]

None of the crucial elements that make the lineage depictions so distinctive can directly be linked to Nepal. In this sculpture set, Newar craftsmen appear merely to have served its technical execution. I conclude this in connection with the conceptual thinking that underlies the set and is also partially reproduced in the thangka painting. Close inspection of the sculptures reveals that their dress, posture, and portrait features are conceived symmetrically in both appearance and typology. For example, the meditative equanimity of the set's youthful eighteenth figure, Lama Dampa Sönam Gyeltsen (Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan: 1312–1375, Figure 14), finds its counterpart in the symmetrically positioned, somewhat aged Lochen Jangchup Tsémo (Lo chen Byang chub rtse mo: 1302–1380), who is located on the other side of the central Vajradhara and shown with similar concentration and in an alternative posture of meditation (Figure 15). This conceptual symmetry is further emphasised by a mirroring of their facial features and dress, with the collar of their vests overlapping in opposing directions. This feature is consistent throughout the set and goes so far that the pendant legs of the two outer figures - Tekchen chöjé Künga Trashi (Theg chen chos rje Kun dga' bkra shis: 1349–1425) and his pupil Draktokpa Sönam Zangpo (Brag thog pa bSod nams bzang po) - literally form a bracket that en-

24 This argument presented by von Schroeder (2001: 972–74) hinges on the alleged origin of the set at Drathang Monastery, from where it is said to have been brought to Mindrölling.

25 For the full argument see Luczanits (in press). Recently, Jackson has come to the same conclusion (2016: 122–124).

closes the entire set. Except for the central image of Vajradhara, the sculpture set is thus preserved in its entirety.

The expressive portraiture in symmetry of the lineage figures is as much an innovation to Tibetan art as are the landscapes introduced by Khyentsé Chenmo in his paintings at Gongkar Chöde Monastery. His paintings also consciously supersede Newar precedence, as is apparent in the rendition of Hevajra's arms: instead of fanning out all secondary hands at the same level to the sides of the body, some appear in front of the body, endowing the deity with motion and immediacy. Not accidentally, it is this rendering of wrathful figures that becomes a lasting legacy of this great painter in later Tibetan art.[26]

Thus, while Newar craftsmanship was still used in the context of southern Ü province, artistically Tibetan craftsmanship had moved on. In fact, one can read much of the art production of the fifteenth century in this way. For example, the Gyantsé paintings are often cited as the foremost example for the establishment of an art form that is distinctly Tibetan in both workmanship and aesthetics. And yet the Gongkar examples go even further, as they integrate new artistic concepts at a level of sophistication that would have a lasting influence throughout the following centuries. These further developments have no direct connection to Nepal and were of little consequence there, even though the Newars had contact to the same sources. A good example in this regard is the Newar sketchbook by Jīvarāma dating from 1435, which documents the adoption of new Chinese-derived Tibetan elements into Newar art.[27] However, these innovations had little consequence in Nepal itself.

Seventeenth Century

The developments outlined here for the fifteenth century do not imply that a Newar aesthetic played no role in later Tibetan art, to the contrary. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw repeated revivals of

26 See Jackson (1996: 142 and 2016: 67–74), partially translating an account by Penba Wangdu.

27 See Lowry (1977) and Sharma *et al.* (2006: no. 61). As the bilingual captions, distinctive motifs, and the subjects indicate, this book was meant for the production of artwork for the Tibetan market. The drawings document the adoption of Chinese motifs and more expressive facial features, but remain largely in line with more traditional approaches.

Nepalese styles in Tibetan art, the earliest of which is the subject of the following example.

Jonang Püntsokling

The Jonang School scholar Tāranātha Künga Nyingpo (1575–1634) is well known for his interest in the Indian Buddhist tradition, even identifying himself as an Indian (Templeman 2009). He also had a keen interest in painting and sculpture, and devoted a chapter of his *History of Buddhism in India* (*Rgya gar chos 'byung*) to the latter.[28] Additionally, in his collection of liturgies, the *Rinjung Gyatsa* (*Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*), he included *sādhana* that he feared might fall out of practice.[29]

A keen interest in Buddhist India - an interest that was unusual for his time (Templeman 2009) - and in the past are also apparent in the murals of the third-floor chapel of Jonang Püntsokling Monastery, the so-called Nyungne (*smyung gnas, bsnyung gnas*) Lhakhang.[30] However, these early seventeenth-century murals reference Newar art in both iconography and style. In an open composition that is set against a continuous landscape background, the murals masterfully integrate Newar figural types, which themselves reference older painting traditions.

For example, the seated eleven-headed and eight-armed Avalokiteśvara in Figure 16 references a much older figural type, particularly apparent in the way the legs relate to the body (compare with Figure 4). It also features motifs of older imagery, such as the rosettes above the ears used for Buddha Amitābha atop his stack of heads, the highlight on the ridge of the nose of the central face, the dress that clings to the body, and specific types of jewellery. An interest in rare iconographies is expressed by the two forms of Avalokiteśvara that reference Śiva and Viṣṇu, which flank the stack of heads: these are Hālāhala and Harihariv̄ahanodbhava Avalokiteśvara, the former featuring a blue neck and the latter seated on Viṣṇu atop garuḍa and lion.[31]

28 See Schiefner (1869), Lama Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya (1990), Klimburg-Salter (1999).

29 Also *Yi dam rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs rin chen 'byung gnas* (W12422, TBRC [Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center], https://www.tbrc.org/. Accessed 21 February 2017), Willson & Brauen (2000).

30 This temple is the focus of a study by Linrothe (2011).

31 On the blue-necked Avalokiteśvara, also called Nīlakaṇṭha in direct reference to this feature, see de Mallmann (1986: 108, no. 8), described according to SM28. In comparison to this description, the Püntsokling version is simplified. For Harihariv̄ahanodbhava

Such cross-referencing iconographies are typical for Newar culture, but enjoyed little popularity elsewhere. The boy Sudhana, standing to the side of Avalokiteśvara, wears an ankle-long *dhoti* and has his hair bound in buns decorated with flowers.

None of the features in this and other paintings in this chapel directly refer to an Indian prototype. Nonetheless, we may deduce from the murals that the embedded references to older imagery were an attempt to establish an Indian derivation. By the seventeenth century, early Newar artworks may well have stood in for the art of Buddha's homeland, which by that time had long since ceased to be a source of inspiration. The adoption of Newar models is selective and appears to be at least in part driven by connoisseurship, that is to say, the knowledge and appreciation of the art of the past. This is also true for the style of the figures themselves: their improbable flatness contrasting with the soft landscape at their back. Yet rather than refer to a particular time, the past is evoked as a continuum through deities that literally appear as if they are historical cut-outs. Thus, both stylistically and in terms of motifs, the revival of Newar features in these paintings can be likened to the use of quotation in order to demonstrate one's broad knowledge or wide reading. Even though their Nepalese precedence is relatively easy to deduce, the new works are imaginative and unique and conform to the scholarly pursuits of the monastery's founder.[32]

Tenth Karmapa

Even more imaginative is the way the tenth Karmapa, Chöying Dorjé (1604–1674), included Kashmiri artwork in his oeuvre.[33] His affinity for Kashmiri sculpture is repeatedly recorded in his biographies. On one occasion, he praises a Kashmiri statue of the Buddha as the most precious among all bronze statues.[34] In this connection, we

Avalokiteśvara see de Mallmann (1986: 109, no. 13).

32 Interestingly, we see this process repeated towards the end of the seventeenth century in the work of the exceptional Mongolian artist and teacher Zanabazar (1635–1723), who has been recognised as an incarnation of Tāranātha.

33 I have dedicated an entire essay to the question of the relationship of the Karmapa's artwork to that of Kashmir (Luczanits 2016a). This section is a summary of that lengthy study and uses its most important example.

34 See von Schroeder (2001: 789) and Mengele (2012: 38). On another occasion, he praises one of his own Buddha statues as having the characteristics (*bkod pa*) of Kashmiri

must assume that by the seventeenth century Kashmir sculpture referred not only to the regional art of all northwestern India (which maintained Buddhism into the early mediaeval period) but also to early west Tibetan art.

Most textual references, including the sources mentioned above, focus on the depiction of the Buddha in the Karmapa's works, both sculptures and paintings. However, in the absence of any Buddha sculpture in bronze by the Karmapa we are left only with painted depictions, especially the central Buddha in the Lijiang set of the Sixteen Arhats, inscribed as 'painted in their entirety by his [Chöying Dorjé's] own hand' (Figure 17).[35] This Buddha indeed relates to a Buddha-type common in Kashmir and Gilgit in the seventh and eighth centuries. A good example in this regard is an extremely sophisticated Buddha bronze located at the Norton Simon Museum of Art (Figure 18), which also resonates in many other ways with the Karmapa's oeuvre.[36] While far from being identical, there can no doubt that the folds of the Buddha's robes in the painting reference such bronzes. Particularly characteristic are the broadening towards the shoulder of the folds at the robe's edge, the folds on top of the Buddha's left thigh, and the way the robe falls underneath the Buddha's crossed legs.

The Norton Simon Buddha bronze also provides a perfect western Himalayan example of rocks that are crowded with a range of attendant deities, donors, musicians, and animals, just as also found in the artwork of the tenth Karmapa.[37] Located at the same level as the Bodhisattvas' lotuses, the rock forms a platform that supports four additional figures placed in front of the Buddha's rock throne: the kneeling female holding a vase is the earth goddess who witnesses the Buddha's awakening; the three other figures are donors, with the monastic donor in the position of honour to the side of the earth goddess. The symmetry of the composition is noteworthy, with its inclusion of numerous animals in matched pairs, each in turn occupying a discrete space.

sculpture (Debreczeny 2012: 59–60, repeated in Alsop 2012: 221–22).

35 On this set, see Debreczeny (2012: chapter 3), on the painting, see Debreczeny (2012: 97–103, fig. 3.1).

36 Norton Simon Buddha (Pal 1975: no. 22, Czuma 1989: fig. 14, Alsop 2012: fig. 8.26, Jackson 2012: fig. 10.1).

37 37 See also Pal (2003: no. 62).

A silver reliquary made by the Karmapa for the remains of his teacher, the Sixth Shamar Chökyi Wangchuk (Chos kyi dbang phyug: 1584–1630), after his death in 1630, is described as follows:

> Below the lion throne, there was a pair of turquoise parrots and a relief (*'bur len*) of a pair of geese in gold, looking as if they were walking. On the aureole (*bya skyibs*) of the lion throne were musicians from Kashmir playing the flute, their wives bringing them vessels of *chang*. On the right side, there were two people holding as an offering crystal vases decorated with coral trees with overhanging branches. On the left side, there were two men from Kashmir holding crystal rosaries. The surrounding landscape was covered with many wild animals. (Mengele 2012a: 165)

The earlier example ascribed to the Karmapa's own hand (Figure 17) presents a simpler, more traditional version of such a relief-work throne, with only some of the features described in the text above. A more closely comparable example is the throne in another painting, wherein Śākyamuni is flanked by his disciples, which is attributed by

Karl Debreczeny to the Karmapa's workshop (Figure 19).[38] The shape of the throne-back, with tree foliage projecting from the top and featuring a goddess, in part takes its inspiration from objects such as the Kashmiri throne-back in Figure 20. With its bands of ornamental flames, intricate lotus scroll, and pearl blossoms, the figured aureole emphasises the miraculous nature of the Buddha's awakening. In the Karmapa's painting, the Buddha is teaching and the elaborate throne with the abundance of precious objects and pearls before it expresses the preciousness and celebration of the teachings. At the level of the Buddha's head, two musicians play lute and drums. And at the foot of the throne there are four figures (Figure 21): In the centre, two small musicians form a couple, with the man playing a flute and the woman offering a bowl of *chang* in one hand and holding a larger vessel in the other. The outer figures appear to be female: the one on the left is holding a vase with a coral tree and the one on the right holds a small object in her

38 Teaching Śākyamuni flanked by his main disciples from Lijiang, see Debreczeny (2012: 129–32, fig. 4.1), Jackson (2012: fig. 10.5).

hand, which is raised towards the Buddha, and a flask in her other. Birds are present as well, along with other animals.

This composition in front of the throne closely resembles that of the Norton Simon bronze (Figure 22). Thus, there can be no doubt that a bronze similar to this served as an inspiration for the painting. While the figures are comparable, their attributes have been adapted to the scene. For example, in the bronze the earth goddess witnesses the awakening of the Buddha holding a vase in her hand, which is her identifying attribute. In the painting, the vase contains a coral tree, a symbol of high official status when taken in combination with the peacock feathers directly behind it (Bartholomew 2006: 5.25.4. and 8.29.12); this symbolism of status and honour may also offer a possible rationale for the switching of the birds in relation to the Norton Simon bronze.

The two Kashmiri sculptures used here for the purpose of comparison also offer an explanation for one of the most curious elements in the Karmapa's oeuvre: the prominence of bead jewellery. It is likely that the Karmapa derived his inspiration for his exuberant representations of jewellery from the small attendant figures in such sculptures, where bead jewellery was disproportionally large and emphasised, its relative proportions comparable with that in Karmapa sculpture. Again, the earth goddess on the Norton Simon bronze and her painted counterpart are exemplary. Generally speaking, it appears as if the Karmapa converted the frequent occurrence of beads in Kashmiri bronzes - for example, in Figure 20 where rows of silver beads and bead blossoms in diverse metal alloys are used to dazzling effect - into assemblages of jewels studding the ground, as is apparent in both the paintings we have discussed.

Textual references to Kashmir other than the one cited above also demonstrate that the Karmapa's image of Kashmir was both idealised and imaginary and that it closely related to his own personal experiences. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that even if his depictions are closely dependent on sculpture from the wider region of Kashmir (as is evidenced in the last comparison), the material culture - the dress, musical instruments, and offerings - depicted in his work are those of his own lifetime. Based upon the similarities between the compositions and details in some of the tenth Karmapa's works and western Himalayan sculpture, there can be no doubt that Kashmir was a rich source

of inspiration for the development of the Karmapa's unique style and imagination.

Conclusion

The analysis of the Karmapa's work profits from the detailed accounts available from and about the artist, with the role of his workshop still in need of further study. In the case of Püntsokling Monastery, the appearance of a top-floor chapel generally fits the agenda of the Jonang School scholar Tāranātha, but it remains unclear how exactly the paintings of the chapel were conceived. Both examples share an impressive degree of connoisseurship in relation to Newar and Kashmir art respectively, and it is this knowledge derived from concrete historic examples that is apparent in the works themselves. In Püntsokling, the art of the past is quoted in both style and motif, yet it is also set in an entirely new context that transforms its citation. Judging from this chapel, it would appear that Nepal was the closest one could get to India in the early seventeenth century, even though direct Indian examples were likely available as well.

By contrast, the tenth Karmapa lets dazzling metalwork from Kashmir inspire his art. His imagination literally transforms the past and in effect conceals the sources of his inspirations. Would writings by and about him not insist throughout on the high regard he had for Kashmiri metal sculpture, the connections made above would be far from apparent. Yet the Kashmir that is evoked in the Karmapa's works is an imaginary one, a Kashmir richer, more playful, and livelier than even the best sculptures from the western Himalayas communicate. Thus, the revival of Newari and Kashmiri elements apparent in these seventeenth-century examples is both conscious and selective, and their integration results in a transformation. From my perspective, these seventeenth-century examples are rather remote from what might constitute a renaissance.

Moving back in time to the fifteenth century, the two examples presented are quite different in their nature and context. The murals of the Red Temple are part of a reformation movement that was apparent in early fifteenth-century art across the Himalayas. This resulted in regional styles that were distinct one from the other, but drew on the same vocabulary. Nevertheless, the revival of Kashmiri aesthetics in fifteenth-century Tholing can indeed be considered a renaissance. And yet

what was reborn was not the art of Kashmir but that of the Purang- Guge Kingdom of the eleventh century. Directly referencing the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo and the conservative nature of the art of his time perfectly suited the reformist agenda of the Géluk School and the legitimacy of its royal donors. In this instance, referencing the remote past also entailed skipping over more recent history; this process occurred across the entire western Himalayas. It is not by accident that today almost all monuments preceding the rise of the Géluk School are attributed to the Great Translator, and portraits of the founder of the Drigung School, Jikten Gönpo ('Jig rten mgon po: 1143–1217), are reinterpreted as representations of Rinchen Zangpo. Nonetheless, the Drigung School was dominant in the western Himalayan region from the thirteenth to the early fifteenth century and many of the extant monuments must be attributed to their legacy (Luczanits 2014a).

The art produced by and in succession of the great painter Khyentsé Chenmo takes a much more revolutionary approach. Introducing new elements - such as continuous landscape, expressive movements, and seemingly realistic facial features - these works cannot be seen or understood as solely building on the Nepalese legacy. Although using a considerable number of Newari elements - in particular the bodily proportions and jewellery of the deities - artists consciously went beyond these, particularly where they may have been considered weakest, namely in individual expression and variety. The underlying characteristic of the art introduced by Khyentsé Chenmo is a degree of realism never attempted in Newar art. Instead of being a model for his work, Newar art has become a yardstick against which his production can be measured.

Both fifteenth-century examples presented in this study can be read as expressions of a new political self-consciousness and emerging artistic connoisseurship. It may well be that these developments were triggered by early Ming art production, a considerable amount of which was made for Tibet, as well as close contacts with the Chinese court at the beginning of the century. It cannot be accidental that the painters considered to have founded the first distinctive art schools - Menthangpa Menla Döndrub (Sman thang pa Sman bla dön grub) and Khyentsé Chenmo - were both famous for their integration of Chinese landscapes.

Compared with the original adoption of Kashmir and Newar art into

areas of Tibetan culture, the re-emergence of Kashmiri and Newari aesthetics in later Tibetan art appears more selective and intellectually driven. To different degrees and with quite varied effects on the appearance of the artworks, both Kashmir and Nepal stand in for the continuation of an Indian tradition. While the fifteenth-century examples can be read as the result of a new drive to distinguish oneself from contemporaneous art schools in neighbouring regions, the seventeenth-century examples demonstrate an unprecedented engagement with the past that is driven by connoisseurship. Stated in another way, quoting the old had become both intellectual play and inspiration - the past had become an expression of the artist's imagination.

As the examples have demonstrated, the revival of older art forms in later Tibetan art was never just a simple looking backwards, but was an integral part of a new artistic vision. Thus, referencing the art of Nepal and Kashmir was in itself a primary subject of these new works, serving as a messenger that anchored the new in the past. As such, the examples of revival examined above may best be understood as an attempt to expand the artistic tradition to also include the remote past. Only in the case of the tenth Karmapa does the quoted past explicitly go beyond the Tibetan tradition, yet in his oeuvre it is also most fully integrated and reinterpreted and, therefore, most difficult to decipher.

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Figure 1: Offering goddess Lāsyā; Tholing, northwestern *chöten*; second or third decade of the eleventh century; after Namgyal (2001: 131).

Figure 2: Detail of flanking goddess from a triad of the six-armed Avalokiteśvara with a dedication inscription during the reign of Queen Diḍḍā (980–1003 CE); Kashmir, 989 CE; bronze; h. 9 5/6 in. (25 cm); Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar; photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, no. 112-4.

Figure 3: Six-armed Green Tārā; Alchi Sumtsek, Avalokiteśvara niche; early thirteenth century; photo J. Poncar.

Figure 4: Six-armed, red Avalokiteśvara; Nepal; second half of the thirteenth century; pigments on cloth; 65 × 53 cm; Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet; after Béguin (1990: 174).

Figure 5: Buddha Amitābha; Central Tibet; second half of the thirteenth century; pigments on cloth; 41 × 33 cm; Boston Museum of Fine Art, 67.818; after Kossak & Singer (1998: no. 36b).

Figure 6: Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi; Tholing, Red Temple, main wall of apse; early fifteenth century; photo J. Poncar 1993 55,3 (WHAV).

Figure 7: Bodhisattva Mahābala; Tabo main temple, ambulatory; ca. 1040; photo J. Poncar 1984 (WHAV).

Figure 8: Goddess Vajraśabda playing a lute (vīṇā); Tholing, Red Temple; early fifteenth century; photo J. Poncar 1993 43,07 (WHAV).

Figure 9: Hevajra with *lam 'bras* lineage; Central Tibet (southern *dbus*); ca. 1500; pigments on cloth; private collection; photo C. Luczanits 2015 (D0323).

Figure 10: Heads of Hevajra; detail of Figure 9; photo C. Luczanits 2015 (D0330).

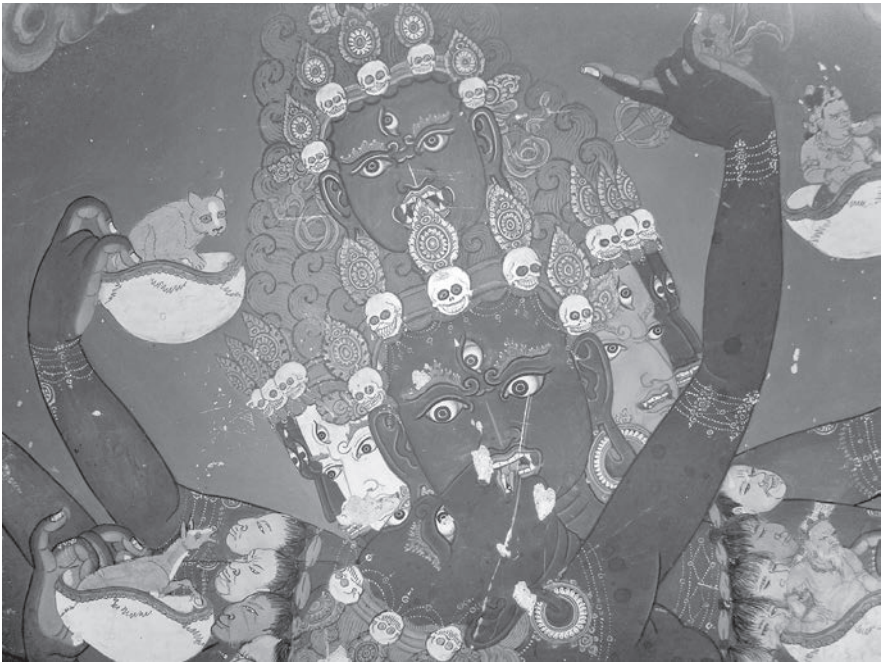

Figure 11: Heads of Hevajra; Hevajra Chapel of Gongkar Chödé Monastery; Central Tibet (southern *dbus*); second half of the fifteenth century; photo Anne Breckenridge Dorsey 2005.

Figure 12: Zhang ston Chos 'bar (1053–1135); detail of Figure 9; photo C. Luczanits 2015 (D0361).

Figure 13: Zhang ston Chos 'bar (1053–1135); Central Tibet (southern *dbus*); second half of the fifteenth century; gilt and painted copper sheets; h. 93 cm; Mindrölling Monastery; after von Schröder (2001: 239B).

Figure 14: Lama Dampa Sönam Gyeltsen (1312–1375); Central Tibet (southern *dbus*); second half of the fifteenth century; gilt and painted copper sheets; h. 93 cm; Mindrölling Monastery; photo C. Luczanits 2007 (D9393).

Figure 15: Lochen Jangchup Tsémo (1302–1380); Central Tibet (southern *dbus*); second half of the fifteenth century; gilt and painted copper sheets; h. 92 cm; Mindrölling Monastery; photo C. Luczanits 2007 (D9303).

Figure 16: Eleven-headed and eight-armed Avalokiteśvara; Jonang Püntsokling Monastery, Nyungne Lhakhang, north wall; early seventeenth century; photo C. Luczanits 2007 (D1278).

Figure 17: Central Buddha of the Lijiang set of sixteen arhats painted by the tenth Karmapa; Lijiang, Yunnan Province, China; dated 1660; ink and pigment on silk; 26 3/4 × 16.5 in. (68 × 42 cm); Lijiang Municipal Museum, no. 439.1.

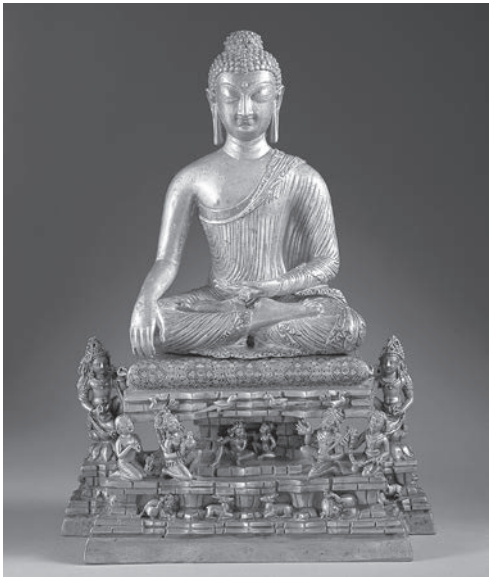

Figure 18: Buddha and adorants on the cosmic mountain; Kashmir or Gilgit, northwest India or northern Pakistan; ca. 700; bronze with silver and copper inlay; 13 1/4 × 9 1/2 × 4 3/4 in. (33.7 × 24.1 × 12.1 cm); Norton Simon Foundation, F.1972.48.2.S; © 2012 The Norton Simon Foundation.

Figure 19: Śākyamuni flanked by his main disciples; tenth Karmapa's workshop; Lijiang, Yunnan Province, China; seventeenth century; ink and colour on silk; 30 3/4 × 20 1/2 in. (78 × 52 cm); Lijiang Municipal Museum, no. 2387.11.

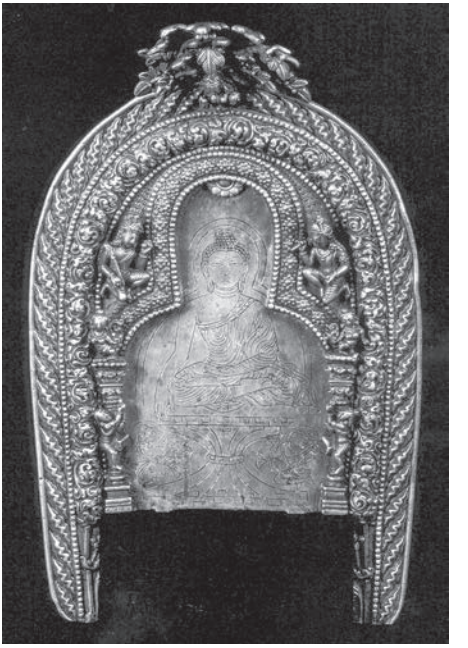

Figure 20: Aureole with etched Buddha at awakening and attendants; Kashmir; eighth century; brass, silver, and copper; 14 7/8 × 9 9/16 × 3 3/8 in. (37.7 × 24.3 × 8.5 cm); private collection; after Heller 1999: 23.

Figure 21: Detail of Figure 19 showing throne with flanking figures.

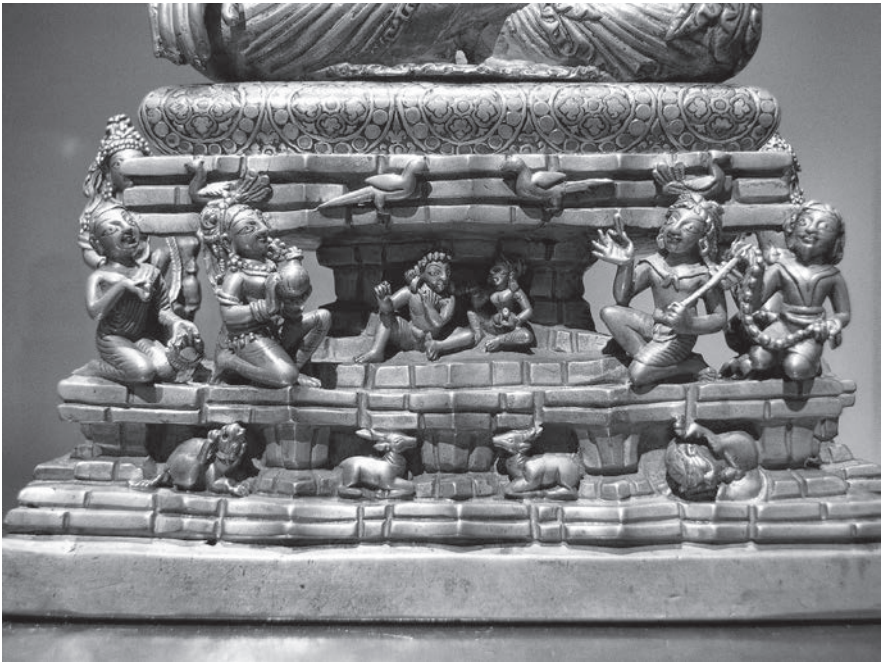

Figure 22: Detail of the throne in Figure 18 with secondary figures in foreground; photo C. Luczanits 2005 (D2688).